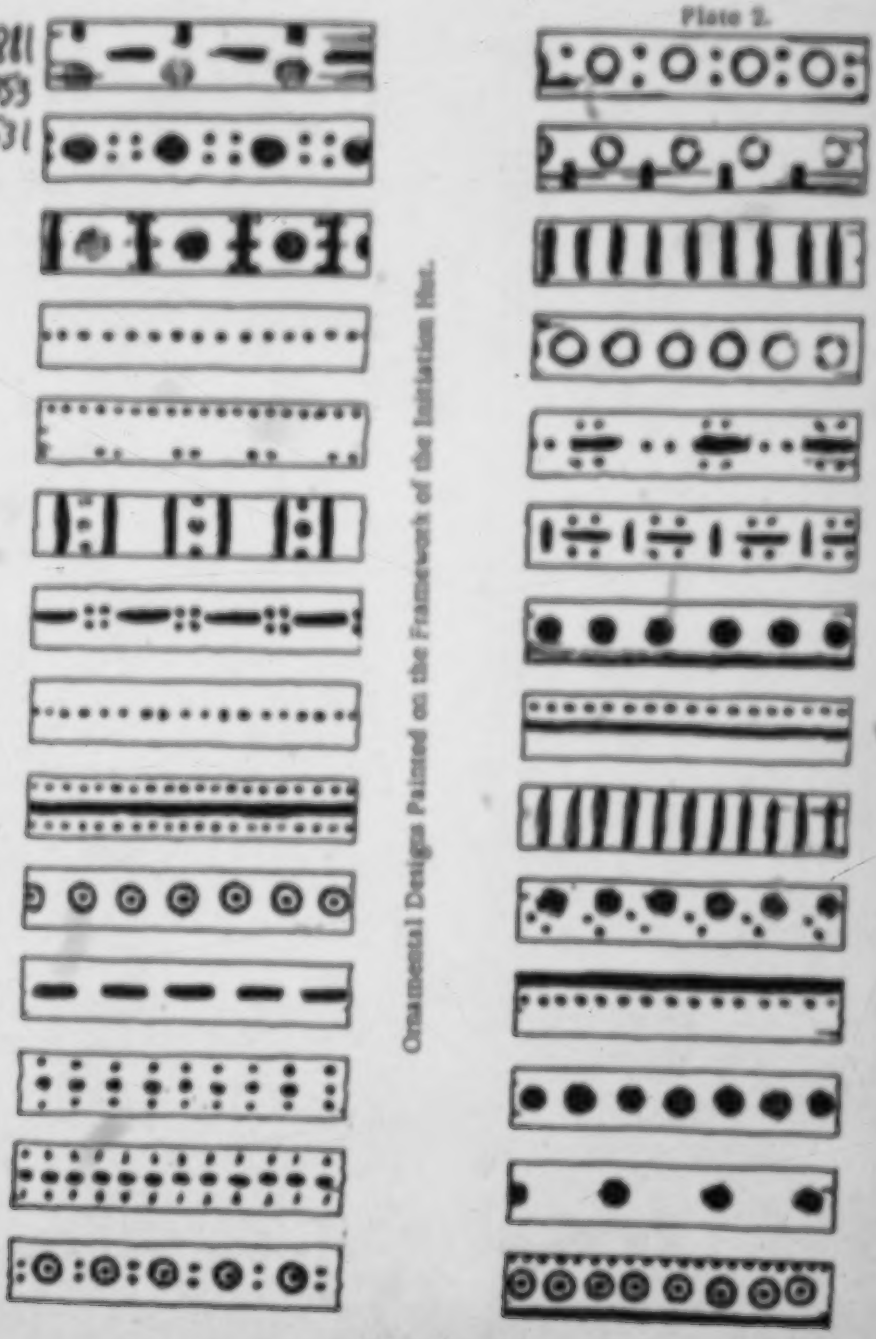
I: Gunindo--656 E-5 (1918-1924) 1927 5116 Yalgan 5116

Plate 2.



Ornamental Designs Painted on the Framework of the Initiation Hut.

/1324 cont./

X 575 345 Kloketen hut of the Selk'nam regularly faces east (Vol. I, 838).

In the interior of this Kina hut the actual resting places are now arranged in the following manner, unlike the čiexaus hut. Clumps of turf are put around the central open space for the fire, and they are stamped down with the feet as evenly as possible. A [134] layer of the long, broad-leafed grass /1325/ ïdka (Poa flabellata), which is used in the ordinary dwellings (cf. p.25), is often scattered on top, but it is permissible to use this grass only if the short, sharp-pointed pampas grass, mɛ̈ʼaluka, cannot be obtained. The latter grows in bunches in open places, is very dry and hard, and scarcely 35 centimeters tall (274). A bunch of this grass can

> 274. Species of Calamagrostis are referred to here, which also flourish on the rocky coasts between stones. Cf. Spegazzini (d):84.

be pulled out only if one grasps it firmly and twists the roots. While the men are gathering many trunks and poles for the hut framework, the Kina leader directs the women and children to provide the necessary amount of grass; he tells them very definitely that they must bring in a great deal of mɛ̈ʼasuka (275).

[171]

> 275. It is very remarkable that similarly in the Kloketen hut of the Selk'nam only this short, hard pampas grass is used for the men's resting place (Vol. I, 839).

On top of this layer of grass each man spreads his piece of leather on the place where he will sit throughout the entire festival.

X 575 ● 353 It is noteworthy that this conical Great Hut for the Kina festival is specially decorated on the inside. All around the interior a red band as wide as three fingers is painted at the level of a man's head. Above that a white band of equal width is applied, and above that, a black one. All three are separated from each other by two spaces each as wide as a finger. These three bands, which serve as decorative painting, are symbolically interpreted as suggesting a rocky seacoast. The red color recalls the irregular stones on the beach, which are more or less thickly

/1325 cont./

overgrown with red algae (Rhodophyceae): the white indicates the foam of the waves tossed over these stones, and the black signifies the many mussels that cling to the rocky coast in clusters. As though the Kina spirits, appearing out of the sea, were climbing up the coast, so the men masked as spirits appear from the Great Hut before the eyes of the women and children (276).

276. In this respect the Klokesen hut of the Selk'nam is quite different, for it has no decoration whatever in the interior (Vol. I, 830). On the other hand, the Great Hut for the men's festival of the Halakwulup is even more elaborately decorated than is that of the Yamana. Compare Gusinde (bib) 366.

Although the design described above for the hut of the Kina festival is followed throughout Yamana territory, the elongated dome shape which is chosen everywhere for the Cíteaga hut is also permissible in the extreme west. The entrance on each of the narrow sides is made with two long, rather strong poles and is much wider and higher than in a Cíteaga hut. The reason for this is obvious: the men wearing tall masks must be able to dance in and out comfortably. In the bordering southern territory of the Halakwulup the two shapes for the Kina hut are likewise used side by side, although the conical form is preferred. Farther north only the elongated dome shape is erected /1326/ (277).

277. In this connection compare Gusinde (q) 288. Here in the west, a different kind of environment affects the shape of the ordinary huts used for dwellings, in contrast to the huts in the eastern part of the Yamana territory (p. 9). The use of this dome shape for the hut of the Kina festival, however, is also a result of cultural influence from the neighboring territory.

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354 HEATING AND LIGHTING EQUIPMENT—systems for the lighting, burning, insulation, ventilating and air-conditioning of buildings; hearths and fireplaces; special lighting equipment (e.g., candles, oil lamps, gas lights, electric lights); special heating appliances (e.g., wood, coal, oil, gas, and electric stoves and furnaces); air-conditioning installations; insulating materials; etc. See also

Heat, light, and power 37
Cooking 219
Electrical machines, ... 307
Manufacture of fuel oil and illuminating gas . 340
Manufacture of candles 380
Manufacture of heating and lighting appliances, 384
Refrigerators, incinerators, and portable lights . . 426

/[illegible] room./

The interior arrangement is the same in either a dome-shaped hut or a conical hut. Actually, to be exact, there is no arrangement, since furniture and household furnishings are entirely absent. There are neither stools nor benches. The interior wall is neither covered nor decorated. Small baskets and leather pouches, pieces of moss, and fungi are hung on short pegs made of broken-off twigs. Tools and implements, ornaments, and other trifles are stored between the poles of the framework. There is no floor built as such, but while construction is going on the ground is stamped down. The natives like to dig out the entire interior surface, sometimes as much as 50 centimeters deep, and this shallow depression is a good protection against wind and cold air from outside. A preferred campsite is dry, loose gravel that does not have to be leveled off, but is cleared of dirt, algae, and wet leaves. If the subsoil happens to be very wet or puddles are formed in persistent rain, pieces of bark are strewn about so that one does not have to sit in the water. Sometimes, if too much water comes in, a layer of gravel has to be built up under the place for the fire, and the fire itself laid higher.

In the ordinary dwellings the fire is in the center, and the occupants squat around it in a circle. They are careful to maintain a banked, even glow which gives off little smoke but sends out abundant heat. The hours when heavy storms whirl the smoke around inside the hut are extremely distressing. In such cases the entrance is blocked with moss inside or covered with a leather curtain. At night the natives regularly use something to close off the entrance securely. During the day and in good weather they let the air freely enter the hut. They move close to the entrance or they even squat out of doors beside the hut and keep a second fire going outside. In spite of a good covering, the loose construction does not prevent rain and snow /[illegible]/ from entering (11).

11. "Air circulates freely through the numerous interstices between the uprights of the hut. Rain, snow, or [illegible] follows the same path, and the occupants are little disturbed by it" /translated from French/ (Hyades [illegible]).

/IH1 cont./

•364 since the interior does not offer reliable protection, the occupants are constantly moving in and out, but in the end they must yield to all misfortune and be content with the little warmth given off by the fire.

513 They arrange their sleeping places directly on the ground and all around the inside wall. First they spread out twigs, with or without leaves, and flat pieces of bark. Over this they place finer twigs or a great deal of lichen (Usnea herbata) and, finally, a long piece of guanaco hide or seal skin. The latter is sometimes omitted. Formerly they also preferred to use bunches of the [97] long stalks of Poa flabellata, but more recently this type of grass has become very rare here (32). A person lying down to sleep

32. Fred Lawrence called my attention to the fact that Poa flabellata, the so-called tussock grass, formerly flourished abundantly throughout the entire area, but since the introduction of sheep this type of grass is now found only in very remote places. After searching for a long time he brought me some plants which could be identified as this species.

curls up tightly and covers himself with his short back cape or somewhat larger coat. Sometimes they even use a type of bed-cover made of several skins pieced together, and this is drawn over several children or two or three adults at once. During sleep they move as close as possible to one another, to give each other the benefit of their body warmth. That is why a single medium-sized skin suffices to cover two to four persons. Not every family by any means owns such a cover (33). The fire itself throws out

33. Hyades (f) :588 also corroborates: "In order to protect themselves from the cold at night, they use a skin of the sea lion or several otter skins sewed together, which they spread over the upper part of the body, leaving the lower limbs outside. They are huddled together so closely that a single skin

/393 cont./

372 losing it, a man would sometimes cut a groove in it, into which was fastened one end of a string of tendon, the other end being tied to a small basket or some larger object.

Everyone is anxious to avoid the trouble of kindling a fresh fire. Before he does so himself, he looks around to see /394/ if he can obtain a glowing stick of wood from a near neighbor. This he fetches and uses to light his own fire.

372 This comforting and indispensable element finds its most
•394 important use as the hut fire. It occupies the center of the round or oval groundplan, but in certain constructions it extends lengthwise through the entire hut (pages 31 and 32). When there is no gravel or broken stone on the ground of the hut, the fire is built on a few flat stones or on a pile of several stones the size of a fist and many mussel shells (55). After some time a broad bed of ashes

55. As Lovisato (b) :133 points out, in the middle of the hut there is "the hearth, made with a few pieces of stone, but especially with many round, small pebbles upon a heap of cockle and limpet shells" /translated from Italian/.

protects this fire from any dampness of the earth. The fire place itself is called apin. Only beech wood is used. Logs of the pepper tree (Drimys winteri) cause a thick, stinging smoke and do not burn easily; hence, they are not used.

372 Throughout the day the Indians like to keep bright flames alive. They place the middle part of rather thick logs and long sticks into the fire. When that is burned through, they shove the two ends from the back gradually farther into the blaze. Since these pieces are arranged one above the other, there is enough draft; if it fails, someone helps it along by lying flat on the ground and, with puffed cheeks, blowing into the embers, or he fans it vigorously for a few minutes with a piece of leather or a bird's wing. Thick logs burn poorly if they are not laid on thin crossed sticks and if one does not constantly push glowing pieces against them.

For the night the fire is scraped closer together toward the center. This provides a deeper bed of embers and gives the

/833 cont./

X 881 346 The thicker and usually pointed end of the small trunk is pounded into the earth very much at an angle to the main rib. The free end is tied to the opposite small trunk. Measured on the ground, all these small trunks are about 15 centimeters apart. A few more long poles are now placed longitudinally over the transverse arches in order to hold the vault together better. The thick end is likewise pounded into the earth at the proper angle, and the small pole itself, as parallel as possible to the others, is drawn over the transverse arches. The intersections are tied with rush stalks of [824] Marsipposperma grandiflorum or with seal tendons. The long side areas of this framework are hung with large pieces of leather and the upper part is covered with thick leafy twigs of the evergreen [824] Nothofagus betuloides. Sometimes the entire hut is covered with beech branches. This completes the hut. /834/ It has a long elliptical groundplan and an elongated dome shape (Fig. 81), something like the community hut (p. 31).

The time it takes to erect the Great Hut, two or three days, depends on the number and the agility of the men taking part. Meanwhile others are working on the interior. First they mark out the hearth with rather thick small trunks placed on the cleaned and leveled ground. These pairs of trunks start a little to the side of each of the trunks that mark off the main and the secondary entrances, and they extend from one end to the other. This center passage is thus somewhat wider than the main and secondary entrances. Pegs about as long as a hand are rammed into the earth to give some support to the parallel trunks. /Fig. 81 appears here./ Brush with thick foliage is spread on either side of them. Later on each participant will spread his pieces of X 881 346 leather and skins over the brush to make a seat for himself. Since the people form only two rows, everyone can come close to the fire (254) or move away from it as he chooses. The brush on the

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[177]

254. At present the Yamana use a rather large tin can or a wide iron pipe for the fire in their dwelling and in the canoe. This time they had placed two short pieces of a steamship funnel along the middle passage of the Great Hut. The fires inside of these produced sufficient warmth

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/834 cont./

and no one was bothered very much by smoke. Formerly everyone felt the smoke, sometimes disagreeably, because the open fire extended the length of the hut.

hut framework above the fire is loosely arranged so that the smoke can get out quickly and easily.

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The length of the hut depends, of course, on the number of participants; all the other measurements are just about the same for a long or short structure. The Great Hut in Puerto Mejillones is 11.30 meters long and has a maximum width on the ground of 3.60 meters and a perpendicular height in the exact center of 2.35 meters.

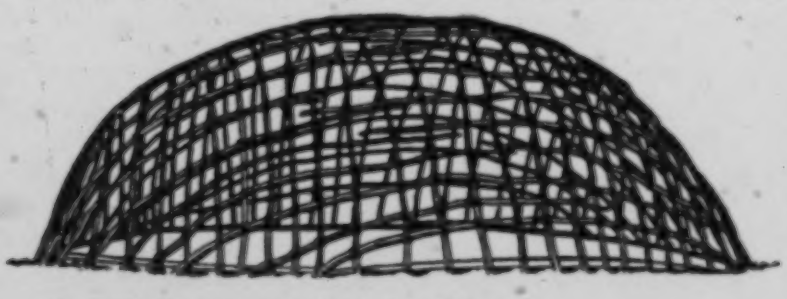

Fig. 81. Framework of the Great Hut.

The entrance is 0.46 meters wide on the ground and has a vertical height of 1.05 meters. The exit has a lower width of 0.40 meters and a vertical height of 0.90 meters. The exit is purposely kept lower /835/ and narrower. The two small openings are a little narrower on top because the two main trunks are not exactly parallel. Throughout Yamana territory the čiéxaus hut is erected according to the design just described (255) which is the only kind that furnishes

255. Lothrop (b):166 writes: "The eastern Yahgan, I was informed, did not use a domed hut for this rite, but a pointed conical wigwam like that seen among the Ona" /cited in English/. This statement is contrary to my experience. Old Water, who came from the east, often assured me that his countrymen, too, had exclusively built the same elongated, dome-shaped hut that is used in other parts of the region for the initiation.

/837 cont./

X881 346 point on the outside in order to keep a lookout. Truly, the hut framework withstands a great deal. Individual gaps that appear and let rain or snow in are immediately closed.

B. Construction of the Cookhut

X881 264 In their everyday life the Yamana have no fixed times for meals. They help themselves when they are hungry or when something is offered. During the youth initiation even the adults have their eating considerably curtailed because food may not be prepared in the Great Hut. The food is prepared outside for all the participants together and is brought in ready to eat. Everyone gets plenty and is, of course, satisfied with everything that is offered. Even with these common meals, the adults are free to go back to their own hut for brief hours and to eat there what they have on hand. Many of them make use of this freedom more or less often.

X881 343 For the place in which food is to be prepared for the sometimes large number of ~~ciexam~~ participants, the Yamana choose a small hut which is specially erected about 20 to 30 paces from the Great Hut. In every respect it resembles the ordinary dwelling of that region, dome-shaped in the west and cone-shaped in the east. They do not use the ornamental plaques mentioned above or any other decoration in it. In the center of the hut a huge [354] fire burns, where the pieces of meat and the slabs of fat are roasted. The hot ashes serve to bake the fish and steam the mussels. This hut is large enough so that the Indian women working in it can also sleep there. Thus, even in size it resembles an ordinary dwelling. Usually this cookhut is built immediately after the Great Hut is finished, sometimes even while it is being built, for with the start of the ceremony, the work of the women engaged in cooking also begins (261).

[171] 261. In the same way the Halakwulup also erect a cookhut beside the Great Hut for their initiation rite, in which food for all the participants is prepared. See Guiande (o):541.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SI16 Yahgan SI16

342 quently used toward the east, was tipi-form, with a framework of stiff stout saplings or tree trunks.

The ground in the interior of the hut was often, but not always, scooped out, to a depth of 2, 3, or more feet (0.6 to 1 m.) beneath the outside ground level, and was usually covered with a little grass or [354] some branches. The fire was made in the center. The huts had one door, facing the sea; or else two doors, one facing the sea, the other being opposite.

172 342 Archeological stratification in the *Yahgan* area of Navarino Island shows an earlier culture with shelters like those still used by the *Alacaluf*, oval in ground plan, having two entrances, and without scooped-out pits; and a later one with circular shelters having one entrance, and with pits 12 to 18 feet (4 to 6 m.) in diameter, scooped out in some cases to a depth of more than 3 feet (1 m.) (Bird, 1938, p. 261). The two historic types of *Yahgan* wigwam, oval and circular, unpitted and pitted, may thus represent two chronologically distinct cultures.

342 Larger and more substantial huts were built for initiation rites (q. v., infra); sometimes very small ones, for the use of children. The *Yahgan* also at times used caves or made a very rude shelter of a few branches tied together or stuck in the ground.

197 342 At the time of Lothrop's visit in 1924–25, practically all the then surviving *Yahgan* were accustomed to pass the winter months at Puerto Mejillones and Porto Piedra, on Navarino Island, in huts poorly constructed of ill-fitting boards (Lothrop, 1928, p. 188). Lothrop (1928, p. 131) considers the use of the wing of a large bird for [239] [356] sweeping out the shelter to have probably been the result of missionary influence.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Clothing.—The chief garment, for men and women, was a small cape, of seal, sea-otter, or fox skin, sometimes of two or more skins sewn together—occasionally of bird skins—worn with the fur outside, covering the shoulder and breast or reaching to the waist, and held in place by a string across the chest. It was commonly shifted outdoors over the windward shoulder. Very frequently it was left off entirely. The women rarely if ever went without a small triangular pubic covering of bird skin or hide, held in place by a string attached to each upper corner and encircling the waist (pl. 33, *f*). No head covering was worn. Usually the *Yahgan* went barefoot, but sometimes when traveling or hunting on land they wore rather crudely made moccasins (fig. 12), resembling closely the *Ona* ones in pattern, of sealskin, with the hair outside, and stuffed inside with grass (cf. Lothrop, 1928, p. 194, photo). The eastern *Yahgan*, when hunting guanaco in winter, sometimes wore guanaco skin leggings, like the *Ona*, from whom they

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

(fig. 51). Farther east the wigwam more frequently was pointed, for it was constructed of poles too thick to be bent. The introduction of the ax has increased the use of the pointed house form. Both kinds of houses were covered in summer with leaves, bark, kelp, grass, or whatever was handy. But during the winter months it was necessary further to break the force of the wind, and so the wigwam was overspread with a roof of seal-skins sewn together (*hoshis*). This was a heavy and cumbersome object to handle, and hence was usually divided into two or even three sections, each of which could be transported in a separate canoe. Thus each house sheltered two or sometimes three families, usually closely related. In such a dwelling one family lived on each side, separated by a door facing the beach, a central fire, and sometimes a second door at the rear. The entrances could be closed with a flap of seal-skin.

FIG. 52.—Modern Yahgan house.

In recent years the Yahgan have used in summer a log tipi covered with burlap. The small burlap-covered shelter shown in fig. 52 was occupied by eleven individuals in the summer of 1923–24. Thus housed they have had immeasurably poorer protection from the weather than in the days when hunger drove them to secure many seals and consequently many seal-skins were available for housetops.

The Yahgan kept their houses warm by building the tops low, for they appreciated the fact that heat rises. To take further advantage of this propensity they scooped out the floor to a depth of two or three feet or more. Thus the fire could be placed at the bottom of the pit while the inmates occupied a higher level, where banks were outlined with logs held in position by stakes driven in the sloping floor. In old camp-grounds where the accumulated shell and ash gave excellent drainage, the pitted house floors reach

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

as much as five feet below the surface. Here the housetop need scarcely have risen above the ground level, and the people within must have been snugly lodged against winter gales. But the swirling smoke was a constant annoyance, and many accounts speak of the Yahgans' red and inflamed eyes.

Initiation or ceremonial houses differed from the living houses chiefly in size. In the west they were domed and oval in outline, as shown in pl. XIV. In the east they took the form of a heavy solid tipi-shape dwelling of logs like the Ona initiation lodge (fig. 38).

Under mission influence the Yahgan in late years built small plank houses of European type. A group of these was found at Puerto Mejillones and Porto Piedra on Navarin island which were used as winter quarters (pl. XVIII). They were wind- and water-tight, and some had wooden floors, bunks, and stoves. The material for their construction was begged, stolen, or picked up on the beach.

Camp Equipment

Yahgan camp equipment, in spite of superior transportation facilities, was just as primitive as that of the Foot Indians, among whom every article, and the infants as well, had to be carried on the back. Strong and simple as are the objects below listed, they

Fig. 53.—Yahgan fire-making apparatus. *a*, Flint; *b*, pouch; *c*, tinder; *d*, pyrites. Width of bag, 5 in. (14/2352)

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

501 In outline the dugout canoes resembled their bark prototypes, modified by the material of which they were wrought. Thus, through ineptitude or a fault in the wood, one end sometimes was not pointed but was cut off square. Into the opening a tail-board was then fitted. This usually leaked. The sides of the canoe often were raised by nailing on boards.

501 177

FIG. 74.—Modern Yahgan boat. (Courtesy of J. L. Weld, Esq.)

With the coming of Europeans the Yahgan adopted the use of oars and sails. The latter were raised on temporary masts and could be employed only when running before the wind.

501 178 The Yahgan bark canoe has gone entirely out of use today, and the writer was unable to discover an Indian competent to make one properly, although models can yet be obtained. The dugout canoe is still in use, but it is many years since a new one has been launched. The last double-ended dugout afloat (fig. 73A) was purchased and is now in the Museum. It is 16 feet 6 inches long, 3 feet wide, and 2 feet 7 inches deep. When purchased it had been in the water many years and was unbelievably heavy. Also it was the most unstable vessel in which the writer has ever set foot.

DORY

501 177 384 Today the few surviving Yahgan use a flat-bottom dory with square stern and high-pointed bow (fig. 74). This boat is of European manufacture and carries no mark of native identity except a fireplace. Today the fireplace is no picturesque affair of sod, but usually is an upright five-gallon gasoline tin, half-filled with stones, and with a hole cut in the side to facilitate the draft.